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THE REPRODUCTION TRAJECTORIES OF INSTITUTIONS IN RELATION TO SOCIAL ISOLATION OF INDIVIDUAL POPULATION GROUPS IN REGIONS OF RUSSIA¹

This article deals with spatial socio-demographic isolation as a factor of the existing settlement system in Russian regions. Theoretically, the phenomena of solitude and social isolation have their own demographic, socio-economic, and psychological origin. Conceptually, they are reflected in theories of nucleation of society's family structure, families losing its core functions, and the deprivation of personality (friends and family) in the context of the second demographic transition. In fact, the trending reluctance to having children, increases in cohabitation and divorces, men's premature deaths resulting in widowhood are supplemented and accompanied by institutional factors that enhance a singular lifestyle, including various forms of personal isolation from social environment in post-industrial society.

We examine the increasingly higher number of private households with single individuals ranging from young to old, the incidence of widowhood institution (effects of death rate risks on marriage and family), effects of labor, academic, survival, and consumer migration (both reversible and irreversible) on replacement levels as the major reasons of socio-demographic isolation. Psychological, demographic isolation of any given local communities favors the feel of solitude as the controller of communication and interaction intensity between individuals. In socio-economic terms, isolation of local communities is related to the factor of families' living away from communication centers and real markets, to new Russian and global logistics, deprivation of traditional sources of income of households as specific forms of survival on the vast living space of Russian society.

Keywords: spatial isolation, solitude, households, migrants, single mothers, convicts, deprivation

Introduction

A global socio-demographic image would be incomplete without understanding the role of the institutions created by society to adjust levels of replacement. The institutions that govern other spheres of social life have always been there throughout the entire human history. P. Berger and T. Lukman observe that "institutionalization occurs wherever repeated actions are mutually typified by actors of various kinds. In other words, any typification of such kind is an institution." [1, p. 27]. We all know K. Marx's statement that "institutions are social forms of the existence of man" [2, p. 263].

An institution as a part of the human demographic conduct is a mechanism that satisfies basic human needs and reproduces reiterating typical schemes, patterns of human reproduction (people replacement in general) both on individual level and on the level of various social communities. These conduct schemes and models are determined by officially prescribed norms (laws) and informally existing systems of values, norms, rules, conduct patterns. The institutions of solitude and family are in traditional opposition to each other but are closely related in social structures both historically and structurally. Destruction of clan structures and enhanced position of families—historically, nucleation of social family structure—inevitably result in enhanced fields of existence and survival of solitary individuals and modernized phenomenon of solitude as a matter of principle on the post-industrial

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basis. Theoretically, the historic transformation of family types is substantiated within the following approaches:

- 1) Wide-spread functional concepts of family (K. Davies, T. Parsons) that interpret variations of family's progressive loss of its social functions;
- 2) Modernizing theories (W. Rostow, M. Levi, A. Inkeles et al.), called "developmental paradigms" by A. Thornton;
- 3) Concepts of a second demographic transition (van de Kaa, R. Lestag).

Analyzing these approaches, Andrew Cherlin considers the concept of second demographic transition to be the most convincing to account for the causes of family transformation as a social institution and occurrence of its transnational models [3, p. 580-589, 599].

Western demographic development experience maintains that increased solitude in Western Europe and the United Kingdom is caused by trending cohabitation practiced by the youth at ages 20–24 and 25–29. The trend gained momentum at the beginning of the 1980s and became obvious by the start of the new millennium (2000–2004). The trend is reflected in panel studies. Cohabitation in older groups like those in their 40s shows a serious drop [4, p. 443–445]. Note that the dissipation of family unions to mothers and fathers (other family members) living apart is also affecting Russian regions and even large Latin American families. This trend is observed in each national census and in registering various types of households in national census programs. However, "localized husband share only amounts to 3%, and that of wives' (mothers) only 4%. But this is a mass phenomenon [5, p. 709, 712].

The current understanding of the role and significance of institutions and social practices specially requires that we take into account the special features of individual human conduct in the analysis of social processes (the concept of neo-institutionalism). Note that both formal and informal institutions are constantly reproducing their functions, at the same time preserving their individual form and realizing "their uniqueness as a reiterating and changing connection of properties, stages, and states" [6, p. 101].

The reproduction of typical forms of human conduct within formal and informal institutions has two opposite functions: while the first creates an environment for human interaction, the second one restricts communication and provides for social isolation. Man considers his life, his past and future given where he is and experiences it depending on the social stereotypes, values, and norms he has adopted. J. Ortega y Gasset wrote, "I am separated from other me's because I have my own body that is localized in space and does not allow me to be omnipresent ... I can see and understand the world from my own here only. There is no way to see the world altogether without occupying a certain here in this world, my vision is always a certain perspective that opens at this point occupied by me." [7, p. 288, 289]. This point is sometimes defined not by human desires but rather by objective circumstances of human life. These circumstances often isolate the human from the world of their near and dear.

Isolation (from French isolation: separation, dissociation) is a term normally used in the micro-evolution concept to describe intraspecific processes, and in geography as spatial and mechanic isolation to denote natural obstacles (mountains, valleys, rivers, seas etc.) between various parts of human or animal populations. Isolation can result in new properties or features [8, p. 93].

The term "isolation" is also used in psychology. For example, in his analysis of the essence of solitude, R. Weis singles out two types of solitude: emotional and social isolation. Emotional isolation means a lack of emotional attachment and social isolation means a lack of attractive social connections [9, p. 18–19]. Irvin Yalom suggests three types of isolation: inter-personal, intra-personal, and existential. Inter-personal isolation is the isolation from other individuals usually experienced as loneliness and is the subject of psychopathology. Intra-personal isolation is a person's separation of certain parts of itself, which is a current psychological paradigm, as noted by I. Yalom. Existential Isolation is the separation between the person and the world. The latter can be the case when the first two are not, i.e. when there is communication with other people and a fully integrated personality [10, p. 398–400].

The idea that isolation and solitude are the same concept is not generally recognized, though it is reasonable. The fact that two people broke up their relationship can be regarded as their isolation from each other. Spatial isolation in psychology, sociology, and economics is primarily related with the intention to emphasize the spatial aspect of separation (segregation) of persons, the external form of communication opportunities (or lack of opportunities). Spatial isolation is "forced" by nature, it

means an alienation from personal interaction caused by the actions of either one of the partners in communication or an external force, such as natural phenomena or government sanction.

This position is substantiated by William A. Sadler and Thomas B. Johnson's statement that "solitude cannot equal a person's physical isolation." This idea is supported by evidence that isolation is an external, objective, partially controllable and observable state, and solitude is "is a subjective internal experience" [11, p. 24]. Contraposition of isolation and solitude suggests that isolation, or spatial isolation, to be more precise, is a distance resulting from external objective and internal subjective factors, a distance between individuals who interact or used to interact and satisfy or used to satisfy each other emotionally.

We know that experiencing solitude is typical of the break up (loss, deprivation) of certain emotional bonds with the close ones (frustration of interpersonal communication) or with the habitual social (cultural, confessional, ethnic and professional) environment. Every person has enough reasons for solitude in their life, nevertheless, we tried to single out several risk groups by referring to them as institutions of socio-demographic spatial isolation that, due to objective properties, are more likely to favor people experiencing spatial segregation as a factor of the feel of solitude up to economic reasons for alienation.

Research Methods

The issue of singular households most frequently occurs in connection with population censuses or other registration systems also resulting from attempts to account for labor migration from rural to urban areas. For example, China's hukou system is an attempt to account for hukou, unskilled migrants from rural areas. This category of castaways is based on 3D risk factors: Danger, Dirt, Dementia (i.e. psychological disorder) [12, p. 357-359].

Hong Kong censuses over 1996–2011 show that matrimonial rates tend to have similar effects resulting in increasing number of young single persons aged 25–34 shifting from endogamy to exogamy [13, p. 639-640, 641]. Expansion of single households is affected not only by wives' and husbands' different life expectancies but also by economic survival opportunities for family members living apart as a matter of principle. The main reason is the accumulation of family assets by single people during nucleation of families. A new trend is the development of the social marketing and outsourcing system. First of all, this applies to organizing catering for those members of households who need it and to the availability of relevant marketing options in the area.

Certainly, outsourcing of this kind is intended to serve children but can also cover other household members [14, p. 302]. However, the increase in the number of single persons in Russia has its own specific features primarily related to the country's geographic location, its vast surface area and local communities' spatial dissociation, especially in Siberia and Far East.

Assuming that spatial isolation is an external objective factor that can cause the feeling of solitude, we propose a schema for socio-demographic measurement and classification of social (spatial) isolation institutions. The schema includes socio-demographic indicators of communal and individual life styles:

1. Households (type):
 - a) Communal households: stationary institutions of social service, hospitals for those with chronic diseases, orphanages, boarding schools, etc.;
 - b) Households made up of 1 person;
 - c) Households made up of a mother with children and households made up of a father with children.
2. Family (marital status):
 - a) Single;
 - b) Married;
 - c) Divorced;
 - d) Widow(er).
3. Migrants (legal status):
 - a) Permanent settlers;
 - b) Registered migrant workers;
 - c) Illegal migrants;
 - d) Refuge seekers;
 - e) Acknowledged refugees;

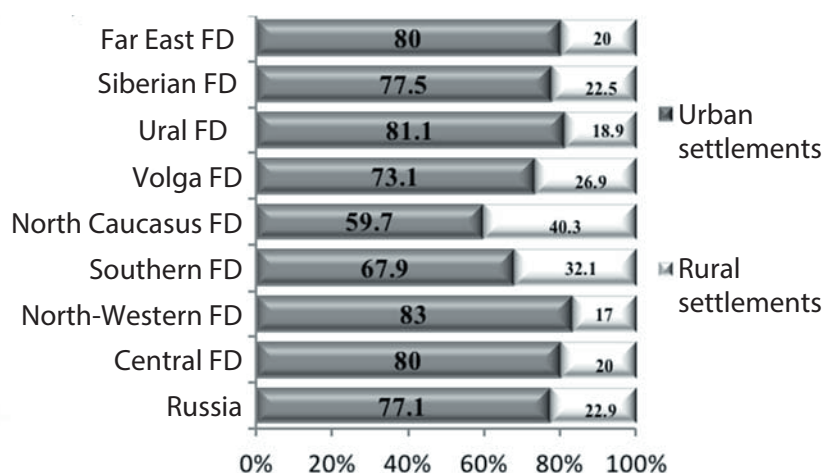


Fig. 1. Share of urban and rural solitude of private households in Russian federal districts, % of the total amount of single households, compiled from *Residents of Private Households by Age Groups in Russian Regions* // Russian National Census 2010. Vol. 6 [Electronic resource, in Russian]. URL: http://www.gks.ru/free_doc/new_site/perepis2010/croc/perepis_itogi1612.htm (date of access: 1/8/2015)

f) De facto refugees.

Furthermore, there is a group of shuttle migrants.

4. Convicted (due to violation of law, by forms and terms of deprivation of freedom):

a) First timers, second times, third timer and more;

b) By sentence terms;

c) By on-record status with inspections.

Let's try and count Russian residents and migrants who might experience a situation that can result in solitude according to the classification above.

We have calculated the following figures for the first criterion (households) using the census method.

Communal households (as they are referred to in the census statistics) in Russia were home to over 2.3 mln people in Russia in 2002 (1.8 mln people in 2010), including 236 k people in stationary institutions of social service; 86 k people in hospitals for those with chronic diseases; 209 k people in orphanages, boarding schools for orphans and abandoned children). The count includes those deprived of families or isolated from their families for a long period².

The 2002 and 2010 Russian censuses show a growth of private households with single residents. While, in 2002, such households amounted to 11.7 mln, in 2010 their number reached 14.02 mln (25.7% of all households). That is 10% of the Russian population with the prevailing 10.8 mln households located in cities. Furthermore, there are 58 k homeless people who live in solitude. The maximum amount of single households is recorded in the Chukotka Autonomous District (34.8%), and half the number is registered in the North Caucasus Federal District (14.7%). The lowest numbers of single households are in Ingushetia (2.6%), Chechnya (7.8%), Dagestan (8.6%), Kabardino-Balkaria (14.2%). Between the censuses, an increase in the number of single households was observed in the Ural Federal District (by 8.1%) and in Sverdlovsk Region (by 8.8%)³.

There is no research or analysis on the differences between regions by the number of single households, though the differences are quite obvious. The causes and factors of such differences require further analysis. The distinction between cultural, confessional, and ethnic differences, as well as the historical development of regions may play a role. Social differentiation of the household segment is notably affected by urbanization (Fig. 1). This is observed in the share of single rural households built in comparison with the urban areas of the federal districts (2010).

Figure 2 gives a clear picture that the main group of regions is concentrated by the share of single private households in Russian rural areas between 20 to 30% of the total number of households, and the average value amounts to 26.3%. Dispersal of localization in rural areas (indicator dispersion)

² Statistical Data on Migration in Russia // Official Statistical Data of Russian Federal Migration Service [Online source]. URL: <http://www.fms.gov.ru/about/statistics/data/> (date of access: 3/20/2015).

³ Residents of Private Households by Age Groups in Russian Regions // Russian National Census 2010. Vol. 6. [Electronic resource, in Russian]. URL: http://www.gks.ru/free_doc/new_site/perepis2010/croc/perepis_itogi1612.htm (date of access: 1/8/2015).

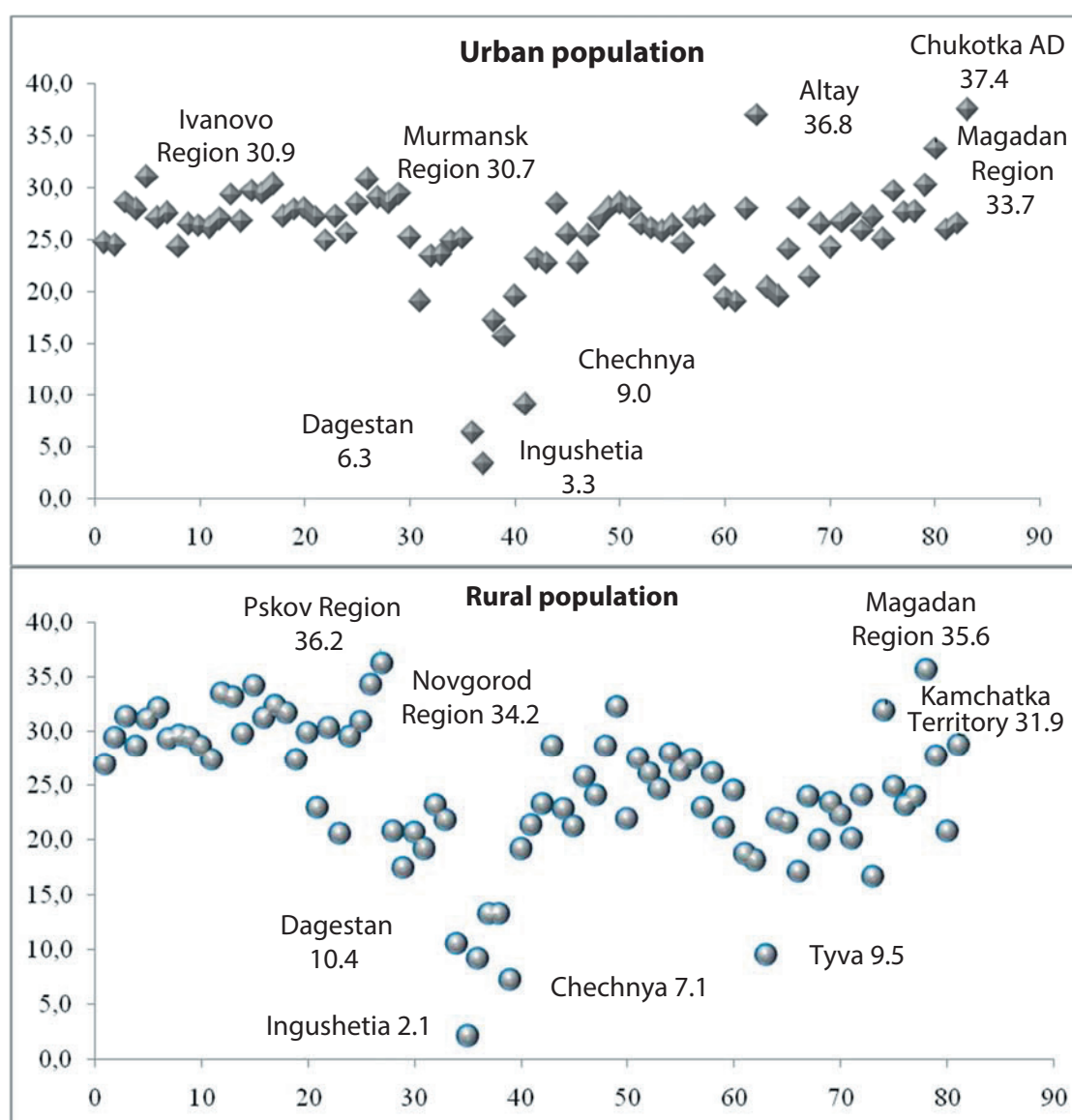


Fig. 2. Distribution of Russian regions by the share of single private households (Private Households by Size in Russian Regions // Russian National Census 2010. Vol. 6. Number and Composition of Households. [Electronic resource, in Russian]. URL: http://www.gks.ru/free_doc/new_site/perepis2010/croc/perepis_itogi1612.htm (date of access: 1/8/2015))

is higher and amounts to 35% (Table 1). This is due to the more northern location of rural private households. However, the overall picture is dominated by the urban settlement system.

Interestingly, the average share of single households in the rural areas is 1.3% lower than that of in cities. However, 14 Russian regions have a high share of single rural households. This trend is typical for the central economic region.

Most probably, this is due to workforce outflow to the Russian capital with elderly people left behind in rural settlements.

The highest number of single households is predominantly in urban areas what makes social marketing and charity a mainly industrial and mass objective.

The distribution of private households by age of the head of the household shows that there is a stable group of households with young people in the background dominated by elderly households (Table 2). The same is attributable to the statistics of households by marital status.

This leads us to the conclusion that socio-demographic factors still favor, to a great extent, an environment that encourages solitude, especially in the vast Northern Areas. Furthermore, demographic features emphasize the importance of lifestyle, culture, and religion that either favor or suppress solitude.

The distribution of single households by age reveals a high number of elderly residents. This becomes obvious as early as on the level of Russian federal districts.

Table 1

Single households spatial settlement, %

Interval values of the share of single households	Distribution of Russian regions		Specific features	
	Urban population	Rural population	Urban population	Rural population
up to 10%	3	5	National regions	National regions
10–20%	7	10		Mainly northern and southern regions
20–30%	66	50	Average share of single households in regions in this group is 26.3%	Average value of single households in regions in this group is 25%
over 30%	7	14	This group includes 5 northern regions	This group includes 9 Russian regions from the Central Economic Region

Compiled by the authors from Private Households by Size in Russian Regions // Russian National Census 2010. Vol. 6. Number and Composition of Households. [Electronic resource, in Russian]. URL: http://www.gks.ru/free_doc/new_site/perepis2010/croc/perepis_itogi1612.htm (date of access: 1/8/2015).

Table 2

Differentiation of single households by age (years old), %

Age groups of single households	Central FD	North-Western FD	Southern FD	North Caucasus FD	Volga FD	Ural FD	Siberian FD	Far East FD
Total	11.1	11.9	8.5	4.0	10.0	10.3	9.6	10.8
0–14	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1
15–17	3.9	3.8	3.5	0.7	4.8	3.3	4.1	4.4
18–24	8.2	9.1	5.9	2.0	7.5	7.4	8.4	9.2
25–34	6.8	7.2	4.3	2.2	5.1	6.2	5.7	7.5
35–44	8.0	8.6	5.2	2.9	6.0	6.8	6.3	8.6
45–54	9.9	11.4	7.6	4.5	8.8	9.9	9.4	11.8
55–64	15.0	17.3	12.8	8.7	15.0	16.4	15.5	17.5
65 and above	29.5	31.8	25.8	18.2	31.4	34.1	30.4	31.9
Age n/a	24.1	23.5	21.3	17.8	28.7	32.2	27.5	23.6

Compiled by the authors from: Residents of Private Households by Age Groups in Russian Regions // Russian National Census 2010. Vol. 6. [Electronic resource, in Russian]. URL: http://www.gks.ru/free_doc/new_site/perepis2010/croc/perepis_itogi1612.htm (date of access: 1/8/2015).

Let's analyze the regional groups with the highest and lowest numbers of single households as an example. Let's assume that the majority of single households are homes to elderly people (55 through 64 years of age, and above 65).

The smallest amount of single households was registered in North Caucasus FD. This federal district includes 7 regions: 6 national republics and Stavropol Territory. The statistics show that our assumption is fully confirmed in Stavropol only. The national republics (but for Ingushetia with hardly any differences) has only one age group: over 65 where the share of single households amounts to 10–15%. Stavropol Territory has two groups of this type: 12% in the 55 to 64 age group, and 24.4% in the above 65 age group.

The regions with a rather large percentage of single households display a higher share of several age groups. Another specific feature is the difference of Russian north-eastern regions from the central areas. Both Chukotka and Magadan show a high percentage of single households in across various ages. For example, in Chukotka: ages 18–24: 10,8%; ages 24–34: 12,6%; ages 35–44: 13,6%; ages 45–54: 18,5%; ages 55–64: 25,9%; above 65: 43,7%. Central regions show a significant share in the above 55 group (typical for all Russian regions except North Caucasus). For example, while only one-fifth of Ivanovo Region households in the 55–64 age group is single, the above 65 age group has 38.5% single households; in Tver Region 18% and 38.1%, in Pskov Region 19.5% and 37.9% respectively. Consolidated statistics of single households by federal districts shows that the segmentation of the expected social

marketing and even charity is quite diversified across the country due to objective circumstances and people's demographic conduct.

In addition to single residents that are presumably in difficult straits and lacking personal communication, there is another group households comprised of single mothers living with children (9.8 mln households), and fathers who bring up their children up to 18 years of age on their own (1.3 mln households).

Analysis of family status shows that men who are divorced or separated amount to over 4 mln people, and women to 5.4 mln people (Census 2010). There are 1.97 mln widowers and 11.8 mln widows.

The migration factor supplements the picture of socio-demographic diversification of the people in Russia. There is a large group of migrants in spatial isolation from their habitual ethnic and confessional environment. In 2014, Russia lets in over 17 mln people (+9% vs 2012 as calculated by the authors). Of which 435.8 thousand of them received temporary permits (excluding Donetsk and Lugansk Regions, and other regions of Ukraine). A 157 thousand people were naturalized.

Arrivals are mainly caused by (as of 04 March 2015) [11]:

- Job offers: 34.1%
- Personal matters: 42.0%
- Tourism: 10.5%

Periods of stay in Russia out of the 11 mln entrants: over a year: 34.2%; 6–12 months: 28.3%; 3–5 months: 14%. They are all experiencing certain discomfort, many are going through adaptation to the climate (Russia hosts people from over 200 countries and territories).

Note that a significant amount of migrants (except shuttle migrants) are isolated from their culture, habitual lifestyle, and can have negative feelings (from solitude to bursts of aggression).

Another subject matter of social isolation studies is the shuttle migrants whose number is significantly higher than that of foreign workforce that amounts to 23 mln people who remain in a continuous flow of short-term reversible migration constantly crossing the borders of Russian administrative regions as often as once a day or a week. Unlike long term and situational isolation, this kind of disconnection is short and transient, but it also has its negative effects.

According to our data, shuttle migrants' motivation in the inter-regional flow is related to lack of means of employment and need for a job and income (a third of the survey participants), while metropolitan migrations are dominated by the need for quality goods and services (49%), entertainment, leisure, and only then by expected income (Table 3). First of all, these issues affect young people's lifestyle in the suburbs of super-large cities (survey, summer 2014).

Table 3

Reasons for young people to commute from smaller towns to other settlements of Yekaterinburg megapolis, % of total

Reason for young people shuttle migration	men	women	both genders
Lack of employment in town/settlement	22.9	23.9	23.5
Lack of quality goods and services	11.7	12.4	12.1
Education	21.4	24.2	23.0
Low salaries	18.5	18.1	18.2
Lack of entertainment facilities	17.0	15.1	15.9
Lack of sports facilities	4.4	3.8	4.0
Other	0.0	0.6	0.4
Difficult to answer	4.1	1.9	2.9
Column total	100.0	100.0	100.0

The table shows that young people migration is mainly due to employment and education issues. The lack of entertainment and income rank third and fourth. There are surprisingly no gender differences.

The last risk group to be surveyed was the prisoners and those on special record. According to the Federal Penitentiary Service⁴, corrective labor colonies, pretrial detention facilities and other institutions hosted 673.8 thousand people in March 2015, of which 245.5 thousand were first-timers.

⁴ Statistic data of the Russian Penitentiary Service [Online source]. URL: <http://фсин.рф/statistics/> (date of access: 3/20/2015).

Note that the convicts have quite different sentence terms. The largest groups are the convicts sentenced for 5–10 years: 37.6%; followed by 3–5 years: 22.5%; 10 and over 15 years: 17%. These groups in long-term isolation need a special re-socialization system. The prisoner experience adverse psychological effects, break up, loss of social relations, falling behind the normal flow of life that incorporates a person in their routine activities. A person's social status changes, their social activity slows down, their opportunities and habitual social roles get distorted.

Results and Discussion

One of the leading research in penitentiary psychology V. F. Pirozhkov believes that isolation results in limited human rights, new values and forms of conduct, stigmatizes human behavior, and causes social inferiority complex. Furthermore, it gives rise to new interests, social attitudes, new traditions, values and norms of conduct [15, p. 361–362]. All these require destruction and then construction of a new system of norms and values. Re-socialization is required not only by former prisoners, but also by the homeless, people who lost their nearest and dearest single mothers or fathers, etc. Working with various migrant categories becomes of special importance. For this reason, we believe that current Russian social welfare system needs reforming with a more emphasis on pedagogical activities.

Common problems of this part of the population of the country need complex solutions on a federal level given the economic and social factors. Regional programs should take into account regional specifics so obviously revealed by the censuses. Such a set of marketing measures should focus not only on elderly and senior people who do not live with their families but also on other age groups. Russian regions could also contribute to the legal framework for working with lonely people.

The involvement of municipalities is also important: in addition to local programs, it is the municipalities that can engage nonprofits and charities in social and psychological support to lonely people. Additionally, municipalities can involve SMEs in creating a comprehensive system of commercial services for this social category given their income differentiation, social stratification, accumulation and consumption of young and middle-aged human resources.

To mitigate the factor of social stratification, the government enhances the role of social marketing or “marketing as a practice of social exchange” [16, p. 96]. As a matter of principle, social marketing means finding market solutions of hot-button social issues. This involves socio-demographic diagnostics of single households as an economic sector and target of social assistance, as well as raising resources and actors to support and reproduce fundamentals of those living a single life. Single households are supervised by local agents to ensure sufficient supply of goods and services for comfortable living standards. Information culture is analyzed for the elements that provide feedback.

The agenda should also include the creation of an institution of social and psychological assistance to single persons given their environment. High quality of life is only achievable through comprehensive solutions that mitigate risks of psychological solitude and enhance living standards.

We believe that social and marketing aspects of the issue can be generally explained as follows:

1. The economic and demographic aspects highlight the attitude that Russian people of different walks of life have to a singular life style as solitude has become typical not only of the aging communities and strata, but also of the youth subcultures.

2. Another important factor is that a singular life style in middle and young ages is encouraged by the entire individual life support structure of the market economy. Solitude has more personal benefits than family life style from the socio-economic and psychological points of view.

3. Social marketing technologies provide for information and analytical basis for conceptual strategic solutions and comprehensive targeted programs that reflect the diversity of the processes in society and its subcultures.

4. Institutions of social isolation, including single households and disabled social categories currently in need of assistance and charity can become sustainable rivals to family households in the future. On the other hand, families are falling behind individuals in performing social roles, per capita income, opportunities for active leisure, and cognitive and intellectual skills. A post-industrial city and even a village are served by an industry of surrogates that substitute live communication, they are dominated by a mass culture that promotes living alone and living for oneself, which is supported by self-preservation goals and egoism of post-industrial egocentric existence.

Rosstat's demographic projections and the increasing number of elderly and senior people and various youth groups in the future suggest a dynamic growth of single households as long as

till 2030–2050. This assumption involves high values of population projections and increases in the number of people above productive age in the country. Given the increasing share of communal and homeless households and general population increment in Russian due to Crimea and Sebastopol, the maximum number of single households is expected to amount to 14,418 k people in 2016. By 2020, single private households will amount to 14,607, and by 2025 to 14,787. By 2030, the absolute increase in single households will reach 15 mln and exhaust its growth potential due to the trending decrease in Russian population in general. In this case, singularity processes will expand not in scope but rather in depth. Thus, 2040 will have an enormous upgraded cluster of single private households supplemented by effects of various modifications of socio-demographic isolation and individual migration as a manifestation of special quality of people's life along with the trend of creating a whole network of developed megacities in Russia.

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